/276 cont./

511 463 595 412 the Indian who furnished the tribe with square stone grindstones used to polish hard woods and sharpen bone and iron tools was considered particularly /277/ competent, and the benefits of his work relieved him of any farming.

634 661 426 One also finds the improvident. The chief of all the villages of the Rio Vermelho, whose host we were at Kejara, for several years had used his authority for personal profit. Numerous were the natives who, having cleared, planted, and harvested for him, thus had possession of veritable mortgages. From this improvidence [126] [437] /sic/ we had to obtain ritual objects considered precious. For Tuxawa, who alone was able to dispose of them, had found, in trading them, a means of obtaining clothing, ornaments, weapons, and tools, of which he kept nothing and which served to pay off all [614] his debts. Since in truth his power was limited by the clan chiefs with whom he held endless conferences before each sale, our objects of exchange were undoubtedly used in large part for commissions and jugs of wine which produced agreement.

556 These differences in resources have a personal character. But skill in hunting or fishing and abundance of the products of the [239] earth are secondary elements of good fortune. A more hereditary type of wealth is constituted by pendants of ounce teeth or pins of macaco teeth, or also the long belts made of small fragments of tucum nuts, armadillo scales, and shells, which no present, no matter how sumptuous, will induce a woman to part with and which are in fact the result of the labors and hunts of many generations.

556 123 One day we met a woman in festival costume who was wearing a particularly fine pin on her neck (Pl. X, A, in background /see p. 48/). Confronted with a mountain of presents, she left without saying a word, and a few minutes later we saw her return without the precious jewel which she never wore again during our stay. [152] After many efforts we were able to obtain another, less fine example, but as soon as the transaction became known, it provoked real fury among the feminine element in the village, which did not spare us [428] any insults. These ornaments seem to be passed on from mother or grandmother to daughter or granddaughter by deed of gift.

/283 cont./

634 occasions we were able to ascertain the discipline of the popula-
[439] tion. Several days after our arrival, having evaluated the im-
[345] portance of our provisions, he gave the order to work for a whole day making objects for exchange; and from dawn to night the baitemannanage[a] was a veritable workshop, where all the men of the tribe applied themselves without stopping to the most ingenious
[226] tasks. A little later Tuˇsawa gave the order to fish. The whole village left the next morning in 30 canoes, leaving us alone with the women and children in the deserted houses.

[221] His powers were quite wide. It was he who presided over the economic life of the tribe, whether in deciding each year on the lands to clear and begin cultivating and the kinds of crops, or ordering the hunts, the fishing expeditions, and the various manufactures. He also ordered, contingently, the change of site
[361] of the village. Kejara has been on its present site for only a few years; the village previously was about two kilometers downstream.
[731] The purpose of the emigration had been to flee from the smallpox, and Tuˇsawa was again already thinking about a new move, for the disease was recommencing its ravages.

[796] /284/ In addition the chief decided the festivals, had them
[533] postponed when his state of health demanded it, and took an active part in them: a good part of the ceremonial devolved on him, and many of the choruses had him as leader /given in English/ or soloist. All the objects, ornaments, or instruments used in the dances or religious ceremonies belonged to him, although outside their use they were disseminated in the houses of the different players. At least he was the only one who had them at his dis-
[123] posal. We always had to deal with him personally to buy ritual
[126] objects, even when we had discovered them in the back of a distant house. No present would have persuaded the owner to take over the negotiations from him (1).

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1. Certain ritual objects, besides, can only be made by the chief. One of these

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614 designate the Āróre ʏębegeʷõ (No. 13 /see Figure 15, p. 6/),
562 Ait'e Aréme, "the women of the ait'e." This is the only case where we have seen a relationship established between the female element of a clan and its emblems (1).

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1. This expression is all the more curious because, as we know, the Bororo think—or say—that a woman who sees a "bull-roarer" will die. The belief is still very much alive.

[764]

The first time that we saw "bull-roarers" being made, on the occasion of funeral rites, where this instrument plays a large role, the natives replied to our questions that they were "kitchen utensils." After interminable

• [126]

negotiations with the chief through the medium of his advisors, it was decided to reveal their true nature to us and to sell us some already-made specimens; but not without having revealed to us the tragic consequences which any imprudence on our part would have. To receive the instruments it was necessary to come to the men's house after dark with all that we had in the way of string, paper, and bags. The packing was done by the natives themselves, and they took care that the packages disappeared immediately into the bottom of our trunks. At the time of our departure, as a native and his wife were to accompany us for several days, the same cautionary remarks were repeated, and they made us promise that we would not open the trunks before Cuiabá.

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8

to Messrs. Joseph Sancoda and John Due, co-pilot and radio operator respectively; to Mr. John S. Clarke, Jr; to my Brazilian 'camaradas' and Bakairi canoemen, who followed me so courageously into a region that is not devoid of danger, and to whom a large share of the credit for the success of the venture is due; and to Mr. Giacomo Amell.

To others not so intimately connected with my field work I am no less obligated. To Mr. Eldridge R. Johnson for his generosity in placing [122] at my disposal the amphibian plane, without which my survey would not have been carried out over such a vast region, and which was instrumental in averting a tragic end to the Xingu venture; to General Candido Mariano da Silva Rondon, who so courteously granted the expedition permission to enter the Indian country, favoring us with his personal interest and friendship and with countless kindnesses; to Major Ramiro Noronha for the infinite pains that he took to give us all the information at his disposal concerning the region that only he knows so well, and for his intimate interest in our welfare; to Dr. Benedicto Duarte Monteiro and Dr. Alvaro Duarte Monteiro of the Inspectoria de Protecção aos Indios.

I further wish to thank the following institutions and individuals that in some way or other helped me in my task: Dr. Jules Freund of the Henry Phippa Institute; Dr. Max Schmidt for his advice and mapping out for me many projects; Dr. E. Roquette-Pinto, the director of the Museu Nacional, and Dr. Heloise Alberto Torres, of the same institution; Dr. A. Amaral and the Instituto Butantan for numerous courtesies and supplying Dick test material; the Inspectoria de Protecção aos Indios; Mr. John Gordon Ramsay for his hospitality and permission to excavate at Descavaldos; Miss Eleanor M. Moore for making [126] the six plates of drawings; Miss M. Louise Baker for drawing the map.

* * * *

Dr. E. Roquette-Pinto has expressed the opinion that to-day the most interesting groups of mankind are those to be found in the northern forests of Matto Grosso. Investigating the section of the state which he has called Rondonia, he found numerous tribes with a simple stone-age culture apparently unaffected by what has been happening on the continent of South America since the first arrival of European adventurers. Geographical barriers, and the fact that the surrounding peoples have

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

an evening dress. Some days afterward, another sedate captain appeared at our hut gravely wearing my companion's riding boots, a cutaway coat and a hat, *only*. Again, a big, burly savage would be seen arrayed only in a garment which was once a white shirt, and a hat; or, finally, wearing nothing but a hat. The hat, too, is only an ornament, as custom among these primitive people does not require its use.

To give them in exchange for articles of their manufacture, and for food, I had brought a number of knives of various sizes, a quantity of bright-colored cloth, beads, and fishhooks of different sizes, but no axes, because of their weight. The Bororó, like all primitive peoples, are fond of bright colors, of which scarlet is much the most admired. They dislike black, for it is the emblem of mourning to them. Whenever they brought anything to me for exchange, they placed it upon the table, then withdrew to the background as if they purposed to give it to me, gratis. But knowing their ways, we would ask them what they wished in exchange, and they would point to the article desired. As their standard of values was far different from mine, I sometimes found that they asked much less for their products than they should receive, in which case I usually added an article or two. At other times, they demanded articles in exchange that would have made the object they brought me very costly. But we usually sent them away satisfied.

One day, five splendid warriors came to visit us from a distant village called the Kogi au Páro, bringing with them beautifully ornamented bows and arrows, having heard that we were giving knives and other useful articles in exchange for their products. They filed, cat-like, into our hut with solemn and dignified mien, and "laid down their arms" upon our table, then modestly withdrew to the rear of the primitive company that surrounded us. My companion, Senhor Antonio, then said to the first man, "*Caiba?*"—what do you wish? "Axe," he replied, making us understand by a mixture of native and Portuguese words and by signs, as did they all; in fact, they communicated with us more by means of

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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437 signs than by words. "*Caiba?*" again said my companion to the second copper-colored figure. "Big knife," he replied. The third man explained by shivering and acting cold, and going through the motions of drawing on a shirt and pulling it down, that he wanted a shirt; while the fourth and fifth wanted cloth.

To the first, we explained by words and signs, "Axe, none, —tramp, tramp many days—mule, one—trail bad." Neither did we have a shirt for the third man. But he insisted upon having one, saying, "*Boé*, sick; *Boé*, cold"—me sick, me cold. I was uncertain what to do to satisfy him and obtain his beautiful bow and arrow. But at this juncture, one of our men, a stripling of nineteen years, came to the rescue, offering his undershirt on condition that I get him another. When the garment was brought in, however, and displayed to the big Bororó, and was seen to be even smaller than its slim owner, the savage exclaimed in dismay, "*Baikymo!*"—no, no, me fat! and he passed his hands over his big body. Finally, I remembered that I had a small tent which I could not use. This I tore up and made all the men happy who wanted cloth
[281] and shirts. The Bororó do not appear to make any use of the skins of animals for covering, and apparently, have no knowledge of tanning.

[571] They always joined in helping one of their number who was making a trade with us, by lauding the object offered, and demanding a good return from us. We were sometimes flooded with certain articles of their manufacture. One day,
[532] some queer little dolls were brought to me, which I traded for
[126] as I had none; but the next day I was surfeited with them as they are easily made.

152 The little black box, my camera, caused the savages much anxiety. They would take to their heels whenever they saw me pointing it toward them. It is useless to try to explain to them how it works, for it is so far beyond their comprehension that they cannot possibly understand it. It is an inscrutable mystery to them, and they regard it with super-
000 stitious fear. A contrivance that can stamp and preserve in

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

its obscure heart an exact image of anything it winks at, must be some wicked device of the *bopi*—demons. The savage believes that any one having his picture may practice some black art over it and bring evil upon the original: that, as one may do what he wishes with the image, he likewise has power over the real man. Moreover, if one is such a powerful conjurer that he can secure that image, What may he not do with the original? I had to bribe them with valuable gifts in order to secure a number of pictures.

The Bororó, like other South American tribes, dwell in gloomy palm-branch huts that resemble squatty, old haystacks huddled together in complete disorder in the coarse grass and among the scraggy trees of the upland jungle. They are constructed by first planting two posts in the ground twenty or thirty feet apart, ten feet high, and terminating in a fork, to support the ridge pole, which is held in position by means of creepers from the forest, instead of nails. Against the ridge pole, are reclined and bound, the rafters, the feet of which are sunk slightly in the ground and the upper ends are bound to the ridge pole. Bamboo poles are next bound horizontally to these rafters, while upright stakes are set in at the gables; and finally, to the entire frame-work, are bound huge, feather-shaped palm-branches, to shed the rain, and exclude the light because of the flies. The primitive residence is now complete. The only light that enters is what filters through the palm-branches. To enter, one pushes aside the palm-branches at one end and enters in a stooping position.

These strange, uncouth dens of savagery, are dark, unclean, and ill-smelling, and so devoid of every object considered absolutely essential to a civilized human abode, that it is difficult to comprehend that they are the dwellings of true human beings—the homes of multitudes of real men, women and children; where they are born, reared and pass their days, and the only abodes they have ever known. Entering one of these human lairs, we find it more or less strewn with decaying food refuse, such as bones and other rejected parts of fish, mammals, birds and reptiles; shells, stones and peelings

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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warning calls are given frequently for some hours in advance of the time when the instruments are to be brought into use. Hearing these warnings the females enter their huts, close the openings and hide their heads. The *roarers* are always manipulated outside the village up and down through the bush, and at openings in the forest. 534 562 788

Many other tribes have mystery instruments and practice demon music. Wallace, describing those of some Rio Negro tribes, says that their instruments are pipes, or tubes, like great bassoons or trumpets, and produce sounds somewhat like trombones or clarinets. One kind is made of bamboo or palm-stems, hollowed out, while others are made of bark, twisted spirally and have mouthpieces of leaves. Each instrument produces but one note, but several pairs are played at the same time, each pair being of the same size and emitting the same note. A simple tune is played, revealing unusual taste for savages; and though the music sounds strange and wild, it is somewhat pleasing. The musicians wave the instruments about in a peculiar manner, vertically and sidewise, while playing them, and accompany these movements with corresponding contortions of the body. These instruments are considered a great mystery. No female of the tribe must ever look upon them under pain of death. From the first moment this mystery music is heard, not a female, young or old, is to be seen for all have hidden themselves away in the woods. If a female should see one of these instruments, either accidentally or by design, she would be put to death, usually by poisoning; and a father will not hesitate to become the executioner of his own daughter, or a husband of his wife. Even where there is only a suspicion that the instrument has been seen by forbidden eyes, no mercy is shown. 534 562 171

I experienced difficulty in getting possession of two or three of the *roarers* for my collection. The Bororó were very reluctant to let me have them, fearing that their women might catch sight of them in some way. But they finally brought them to our hut, one at a time, under cover of darkness, after having borrowed blankets from us in which to roll them, and 126 534 562

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

126 534 562 delivered them to me with a solemn, mysterious air. Even after the instruments were in our possession, these superstitious people manifested great solicitude in having us hide them away in the bottom of a box, and placing the box itself in an inaccessible place.

126 534 777 We also had difficulty in securing the big bass flutes used at the funeral *bakororó*. They were not kept hidden from any member of the tribe, yet the savages were loathe to part with them for some superstitious reasons. When I asked a captain to get me a pair, he looked solemn and mysterious, and said by words and signs: "The captain" (myself) "must not take this instrument away with him. It is a very bad instrument; whoever carries it away will never more return." In saying that it was "bad," he meant that it was "bad medicine," that it would bring "bad luck" to the possessor. Perhaps the old pagan was not far wrong after all, for contrary to my expectations, and to my great disappointment, I have not yet been able to return to their villages.

BO /249 cont./
171 extremities look like a shimmering whitish painting. The eye and
532 the spotted markings of the skin were indicated with dark sand. Since the figures were at least life-sized, they gave a surprisingly lifelike impression in the evening twilight; it looked as though huge, shimmering and glistening skins were spread out on the ground.

B Pencil drawings. Even in 1884 we let the Suyá draw with
*171 pencil in our notebooks. They themselves were amused by it;
532 they were not awkward, and only at first did they superfluously
BO hold the pencil point into the flame, being accustomed, for their
171 part, to drawing with resin-saturated sticks. They drew rhombus-
532 shaped designs, similar to those on their gourd bowls, which at that time I dismissed with the label "geometric figures." This time
B we had them draw a series of persons and objects which turned out
BO to be extremely instructive. On the four plates, 16-19 /see pp.
[126] 265-268/, these artistic productions, which could still be considerably improved, have been reproduced with painful accuracy; there are portraits of the members of the expedition, especially of me, and furthermore two jaguars and a woman's triangle with the accompanying topography done by Kulisehu Indians, as well as a soldier, a woman, a pipe, a whizzer stick, two jaguars, a tapir pursued by a dog, a monkey, a hummingbird, and three turtles by the Bororó. The animal pictures of the Bororó, like the sand drawings covered with ashes, are filled with black inside the outline and show that these artists already had higher aspirations, although in their sparse ornamentation they did not achieve more than is shown by the whizzer stick.

000 At first the pencil drawings vividly remind one of the pictures in the copybook of little Moritz. In fact, in the interesting little book by Corrado Ricci, l'arte dei bambini /The Art of Children/, Bologna, 1887, which reports on studies of many children's drawings, there are many correspondences, and more than the author himself assumes when he considers the drawings of primitive peoples. Children describe a human being, instead of reproducing him artistically, "just as they would describe him with words." In their first attempts they are satisfied with the most

/498 cont./

000 from the women, they obtained the double assurance that the in-
534 quisitive sex will show fear and will stay away. Among the
562 Bororó the case is somewhat different; they are concerned about
984 the women. Among other tribes -- each case must be separately
171 investigated, since the striking correspondence could only be external -- it may be a matter of threatening the women with the death penalty, just as the Kulisehu-Indian woman would put herself in such danger to life and limb if she entered the flute house of the men. The statement that "the women would die" may have two very different meanings.

● 126 Among the Bororó it was almost impossible for us to obtain
534 whizzer sticks. The fear of improper use was only too well
984 founded in view of the attitude of the Braziliams. /499/ Wilhelm was urgently beseeched not to show to the women the whizzer sticks drawn by him. When we offered to buy them, the aídye were hidden. The men themselves, apparently, had a certain amount of fear when we spoke of these devices as of bows and arrows and any other objects of the collection; one of them turned away apprehensively when I mentioned the subject of aídye and clearly indicated that he would rather not hear anything about it; it was closely bound up with the fear of death. We achieved our wish only through three older boys, regular teenagers, who were as avid for small red beads as we were for the whizzer sticks. They carved and painted them out in the forest. Under cover of darkness the first one appeared in our room very mysteriously and demanded that we close the door and the shutters. Then the second one came knocking, and finally, the third one likewise. Each one had a whizzer stick
[688] hidden under a cloth; they whispered that we must carefully conceal them, women and children would die if they caught sight of one; they were particularly insistent that even the men -- the scamp Tobakiu was very much afraid of his father Moguyokuri -- should not find out anything, because they would "brabo" and would beat them unmercifully. We respected this argument and, before their eyes, put the three dangerous sticks in our trunk where it was deepest.